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in the Pardo palace and it is difficult to believe one's self in a theatre. Mario is a perfect gentleman. He takes the most difficult rôles. His old men are splendid with cracked voice, hesitating gait, and trembling hands. He has always stuck to old friends and scarcely ever changes his company. His principal actor is Cepillo, a curious type, tall, ugly, but with a wonderfully fascinating way about him. I never saw a better *Maître de Forges* than Cepillo—so cold and severe, at the same time so loving and noble, the very type after the heart of the French novelist.

Sanchez de Leon is Mario's young man actor. He is a Catalan, and his harsh accent is against him, but he does well enough when he likes. His wife, the Guerrero, is a great favorite, an actress to the backbone, and she enjoys her rôles as much as the public who applaud her. She is very stout, but as active and free in her movements as a young girl. Her cross old women, ugly *duenas*, funny servants, naughty market women, are splendid, and she keeps the public laughing the whole time.

The young lady in Mario's company is the Señorita Martinez, a real beauty and the clubmen keep their glasses on her the whole time. She is a brunette with jet black locks, eyes of a true Spanish woman and a magnificent neck, as white as snow and beautifully shaped.

The last but not least of Mario's company is the comic actor Rossel. He is the funniest actor in the world; even his face makes one smile. He never learns his parts at all, he gets an idea of what he must be and he adds the words himself. He never does the same thing twice over and still he does not put the other actors out. When he and the Guerrero are acting together, they keep the house in a roar. He has so much natural wit and ingenuity that he is invaluable and of course a great favorite.

There are many other good theatres in Madrid such as the coquettish *Princesa*, which belongs to the Queen's late lady in waiting, the Duquesa de Medina de las Torres. The Duchess lets out her theatre, and thus every season the company changes. Another little theatre that the Madrileños love to frequent is *Lara*—such a funny little place, in the old part of the town. Here the real good Spanish *sainetes* or little comedies are played in one act and the public need only take seats for one *sainete* at a time or two. Four are played the same evening, and it is so curious to see a different public each time! It is a capital arrangement and often when a man about town finds it too early to go to his club he dashes off to *Lara* and for one hour enjoys a splendid little farce or play. The actors are always good and as for the pieces they are of the best repertoire. In *Lara* every year there is a new farce that only reproduces the events of the year. They are very well done and you see on the stage the last political crisis; the new government even appears and is splendidly taken off. The latest sensational murder, robbery, is mentioned. The newest inventions are turned into farces, and all this is accompanied with lovely quaint Spanish music written especially for the piece. These tunes are very pretty and soon become popular, and often go over Europe as real Spanish airs.

DULCINEA DEL TOBOSO.

BARGAINS IN PARLIAMENT.

It would be an easy matter to name off-hand half a dozen or more features about the House of Commons elected in 1892 which will make it

memorable in English parliamentary history. Some of these are new developments in English political life. They manifested themselves for the first time last session, and marked most distinctly the retrograde movement from statesmanship to politics, or from statecraft to mere electioneering, which is now going on in England. Prominent among these new developments is the system of group pressure and bargains with groups, which came into a strong and lively existence almost as soon as the Liberal Ministry was formed. The working of this new system was exceedingly obvious in the long-drawn-out session of 1893-94, and it seems to be becoming even more obvious in the new session which commenced in March. The upshot of it is that a Liberal Ministry seems no longer to have at its command the arrangement of the legislative programme, or even of the time of Parliament in the sense that a Ministry up to a few years ago was able to secure for its business the time of the House of Commons.

There are half a dozen groups in the Ministerial following, and their leaders practically dictate to the Cabinet what measures shall be submitted to Parliament, and the order in which they shall be proceeded with. This is not statesmanship, as statesmanship has hitherto been understood in England; it is what Lord Salisbury would describe as politics from the whip's point of view; and it would seem that the whip's point of view is the point of view, and the only point of view, of the Cabinet. No one now asserts that the Gladstone Cabinet had any other alternative in 1893 than to make Home Rule the first measure of the session. It had either to do so or to see its majority of thirty-eight turned into a minority at the will of the Irish members. Nor was this pressure from groups eased off with the arrangement of the Ministerial programme, which gave Ireland nearly the whole of the time of the ordinary session of Parliament. There are Welsh and English groups in the Ministerial following, particularly a numerous and compact Welsh group; and as an outcome of the existence of these groups the Government were compelled to bring forward a measure looking to the immediate disestablishment of the English Church in Wales, and also a local veto bill. These measures, in view of the time likely to be occupied by the Home Rule bill, and later on by the Parish Councils bill and the Employers' Liability bill, had not the remotest chance of getting beyond their initial stages. Neither of them went beyond first reading; but their introduction served for a time to ease off pressure from two demanding groups, and to keep their members in an outwardly hopeful mood, and, what was more important, in regular attendance during the wearisome discussions and divisions on the Home Rule bill.

The policy of the Government in regard to the Employers' Liability bill was trimmed and fashioned completely from the whip's point of view, and in response to pressure from groups. The Labor group had supported the Government in its Home Rule policy, and in return for this support the Irish members almost mechanically supported the Government in its policy on the Employers' Liability bill so long as that policy was shaped to the liking of the Labor members. The measure for the amendment of the Employers' Liability law, on which a grand committee and the House of Commons itself spent considerable time last session, was an immense improvement on the Act passed in 1880. Nine important particulars could be cited in which that measure, as it stood when it came back from the Lords to the Commons, was an improvement on the measure of 1880, and all these improvements were in the interest of the wage-earning classes. The

House of Lords, however, introduced a clause under which men in the service of employers who gave them an equivalent to the Act in the form of insurance, could contract themselves outside its provisions. This contracting-out clause, as drawn up by Lord Dudley, provided safeguards for the interests of the men in connection with these alternative insurance schemes. But the Labor leaders desired that there should be an end to any mutual arrangements of this kind; that a workman who was injured should be compelled to call in a lawyer almost as soon as his friends called in a surgeon; and with the whip's point of view in mind the Government accepted the conditions of the Labor group and threw up the bill. An otherwise excellent and liberal measure was thus sacrificed, and the time the two Houses had given to the bill went for naught. But the Government conciliated the Labor group, and have sought to persuade their supporters that they have at the same time greatly strengthened the popular feeling against the House of Lords.

Group-pressure has been applied on all sides at a very early period in the present session. Three instances of it will serve to show how this bargaining for votes in the group is worked. The most daring application of the new system, so far this session, was by the Welsh members. Twenty-eight out of the thirty members from Wales are Radicals. All of these are pledged to disestablishment. It was an intense disappointment to them that, last session, the Suspensory bill did not get beyond first reading. This session they evidently intend that the Government shall manage things better. To this end they met soon after the Queen's Speech had been read, and after Lord Rosebery's speech at the Foreign Office, and passed a remarkable resolution. It sets forth "That this meeting, while fully and thankfully appreciating the Prime Minister's statement of the Government's intentions to introduce a measure for the disestablishment of the Church in Wales, and of their desire to press it to a successful issue, observe that the order in which the Government measures are to be proceeded with is left to the decision of the leader of the House of Commons, and that accordingly the Welsh Liberal members do wait upon Sir William Harcourt on the earliest day convenient to him, for the purpose of representing to him the absolute necessity of preserving for the Welsh Disestablishment bill the second place among the Government measures, and of obtaining his personal assurance that it shall be pushed through the House of Commons during the present session, and that the present session shall not be terminated until this bill, if approved by a majority of the House of Commons, has been read a third time."

In accordance with this extraordinary resolution, passed by a group of members of the House of Commons, which is strong enough to turn out the Government at any time, a deputation waited upon Sir William Harcourt. Shorthand reporters were not in attendance; but, next morning, one of the Liberal papers put it on record that "the outcome of the deputation to Sir William Harcourt has been thought to satisfy the Welsh party in regard to the intentions of the Government. Sir William not merely promised that a Welsh Disestablishment bill shall, if possible, be carried to a third reading, but he expressed a strong opinion that it will be practicable to achieve this." The Welsh members demand another Autumn session, in order that the bill may be carried. "On the subject of an Autumn session," continues the report of the conference, "the Chancellor of the Exchequer was guarded; but what he did say was enough to obviate the threatened diffi-

culties." "Threatened difficulties" is an excellent euphemism. It would have been almost impossible to hit on a better phrase for explaining the troubles in the way of a Parliamentary leader whose majority is now only thirty-five or thirty-six, confronted with the representatives of twenty-eight determined members who are seriously threatening a bolt, if he does not at once, and without equivocation, concede their demands.

The next instance of this group pressure is that of the Labor men and Socialistic Radicals, who demand that the Government shall support the bill for legalizing an eight-hours day for miners. Last year the Government treated the advocates of a legal eight-hours day very much as they did the Welsh members over disestablishment. Practically they carried the Eight-Hours bill over second reading; but although it was a short bill, the committee stage of which might have been taken in two or three days, they so manoeuvred that the bill made no further progress. This year the Labor group intend to follow the Welsh members, and insist on a better arrangement. They also waited on the Leader of the House of Commons, almost as soon as Parliament met, to ask whether, in the event of the promoters of the Miners' Eight-Hours bill being successful in the ballot for private members' days, the Government would afford facilities for carrying the bill through committee, and whether, if the friends of the bill were unsuccessful in the ballot, the Government would set apart a day for the consideration of the measure. Sir William Harcourt's reply, it was reported, was satisfactory on both points. The promoters of the bill were successful in the ballot which followed this interview, and the Government will soon have to fulfil their pledges of helping the bill through committee, or they will find themselves sharply in conflict with the Labor group.

The Irish members of both divisions furnish the third instance in the present session of this group pressure upon the Government. Parnellites and anti-Parnellites are all agreed on the need of a bill for reinstating or otherwise relieving the tenants who were defeated in the conflicts waged from 1886 to 1889 in connection with the Plan of Campaign. The plan was utterly antagonistic to all ideas of fair dealing and honesty. In the long run, as was inevitable, it failed on many of the estates on which it was tried. The landlords had right and justice on their side. They were more than a match for the politicians, and, as a consequence of the breakdown of the plan, for several years past the funds of the Irish parties have been heavily drawn upon to maintain the wretched tenants who were beaten in the struggle into which most of them had entered at the instance of the politicians. These tenants have been a source of serious embarrassment to both groups of Nationalists, and, as a result of the pressure they can bring to bear on the Government, in the words of the Queen's Speech to the two Houses of Parliament, "a measure will be submitted to you with a view to a reasonable settlement of a question deeply affecting the well-being of Ireland." The Irish politicians deeply pledged themselves to the campaigners under the Plan; they undertook to see the tenants successfully through with the struggles on which they had entered with the landlords, or to take care of them afterwards, and this is how they are seeking to fulfil their pledges.

None but a Government living a veritable hand-to-mouth existence, and perpetually sorely pressed by group after group, would ever have given even a sympathetic mention of the defeated campaigners in a Speech from the Throne. But when once this game of politics, exclusively from the Govern-

ment Whip's point of view, has been entered upon, it is almost impossible to stop. Pledges have to be renewed, and re-renewed; for, if renewals are not forthcoming and satisfactory, a complete breakdown may occur any day. Even Tammany could get a few points by the study of electioneering politics as they have been practised and developed since the group pressure and the bargain system came into vogue at Westminster eighteen months ago.

EDWARD PORRITT.

KOSSUTH'S PREDICTIONS.

SINCE the days of Benvenuto Cellini no man of superlative talents ever talked more slightly of his own most popular gifts than the Hungarian patriot whose eloquence made him the marvel of three continents.

"Their deplorable æsthetics tempt them to sacrifice the substance to the form," said he, after his return from a mass meeting of British admirers; "they enjoy my speeches as works of art, and would applaud just as much if I was talking about Japanese fans or a fashionable novel. When Peter the Hermit tried to rouse Europe against the enemies of our faith, they would have complimented him on the elegance of his Latin syntax."

"We are dependent on others more than we think, even for our self-respect," said he on another occasion; "or I would gladly dispense with this sort of popularity. It might subserve my private ambition, but does not seem to promote the interest of our cause."

Our great Florentine sculptor pleased himself in the rôle of a military fire-eater, and Louis Kossuth would have exchanged all the laurels of Demosthenes for the honors of a political prophet. As early as 1844 he urged his countrymen to leave the House of Hapsburg as they would flee from a fallen temple, and to the last day of his life he maintained that the predicted catastrophe had been postponed, rather than prevented, by artificial props, which would only add to the weight of the final collapse. Conflicting interests, he held, would dissolve the work of mediæval empire builders as they had cancelled the conquests of the Cæsars, and would one day divorce the emancipated masses from every dynasty of the civilized world. "After the hood of ignorance is once removed from the eyes of a nation," he said, "all other fetters will drop in quick succession; only we should remember that the decisive circumstance in such matters is the level of general intelligence—not the eminence of isolated scholars. A few of your North European savants, no doubt, tower head and shoulders above Rousseau and Voltaire, but the mental emancipation of the average French citizen at the end of the eighteenth century has never been paralleled outside of North America: hence the phenomenon of a Republican revolt preceding that of other European nations by more than a hundred years. Hence, also, the miraculous victories of the first Napoleon, whose army held the trump cards in brains as well as in courage and national enthusiasm."

"For our so-called civilized monarchies," he adds, "the control of public schools has become an affair of self-preservation; still the sunrise of reason will proceed faster than they expect, because the ability to read implies all sorts of things, nowadays, and calamity, too, is apt to operate as a sudden eye-opener." Kossuth seems to have expected a great European war as a prelude to a general insurrection, followed by a confederation of Old World republics, on the model of the United States.